

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 146003 TOSEC 070008

FOLLOWING REPEAT PARIS 18415 SENT ACTION SECSTATE,
INFO MOSCOW, TEL AVIV, CAIRO, NICOSIA, ATHENS, ANKARA, USUN
NEW YORK, USBERLIN, BERLIN, WARSAW, PRAGUE, BUDAPEST, BUCHAREST,
SOFIA, BELGRADE, VIENNA, BONN, BRUSSELS, COPENHAGEN, THE HAGUE,
LISBON, LONDON, LUXEMBOURG, OSLO, OTTAWA, REYKJAVIK, ROME,
NATO 22 JUN 77

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 18415

FOR SS: PASS SECRETARY'S PARTY EN ROUTE

VIENNA ALSO FOR USIAEA

BELGRADE ALSO FOR USDEL CSCE

USEEC

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: FR, UR

SUBJ: THE FRANCO-SOVIET DECLARATION: SUMMARY AND FIRST
IMPRESSIONS

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REF: PARIS 18276 (NOTAL) AND PREVIOUS

1. AFTER PUTTING OFF LAST CHANCE FOR TETE-A-TETE WITH
GISCARD FROM 10 TO 11 A.M. TODAY--THUS SHORTENING THIS
CONVERSATION TO LESS THAN AN HOUR--THE TWO SIDES TODAY
SIGNED AND RELEASED TEXTS PREPARED FOR THIS VISIT.
THESE INCLUDED "FRANCO-SOVIET DECLARATION," AS

WELL AS SEPARATE DECLARATION ON DETENTE AND NON-PROLIFERATION. THERE ARE ALSO NUMBER OF ECONOMIC TEXTS.

2. MIDDLE EAST:

A FIRST, HURRIED READING OF "FRANCO-SOVIET DECLARATION" SUGGESTS THAT FRENCH DID NOT MISLEAD US IN SAYING THAT IT WOULD CONTAIN NO MAJOR SURPRISES. ONLY SLIGHT SETBACK MIGHT BE IN MIDDLE EAST PASSAGE IN WHICH BOTH FRANCE AND USSR CONSIDER THAT "ESTABLISHMENT OF A JUST AND LASTING PEACE RESTS ON THE WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI TROOPS FROM ALL ARAB TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN 1967; THE RESPECT FOR THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, INCLUDING THAT OF HAVING A FATHERLAND; AND THE RIGHT OF ALL THE STATES OF THE REGION, INCLUDING ISRAEL, TO AN INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE WITHIN SAFE AND RECOGNIZED FRONTIERS." TEXT ALSO CALLS FOR CONVENING GENEVA CONFERENCE BEFORE END OF YEAR WITH PARTICIPATION OF ALL PARTIES CONCERNED, INCLUDING REPS OF PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. WHILE NEGOTIATING HISTORY THIS PASSAGE WILL REQUIRE FURTHER DIGGING, IT STRIKES US THAT FRENCH DID NOT GET VERY FAR IN REINTRODUCING "THAT SHADE OF FLEXIBILITY" IN SOVIET POSITION ON QUESTION OF ISRAELI FRONTIERS REFERRED TO IN PARA 3 OF PARIS 18104 EXDIS NOTAL.

3. "ATMOSPHERE OF GREAT CORDIALITY":
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OTHERWISE THE FRANCO-SOVIET DECLARATION AND THE RELATED SEPARATE DECLARATIONS ON INTERNATIONAL DETENTE AND ON NON-PROLIFERATION SHOW TRACES OF HARD NEGOTIATING, BUT NO MAJOR FRENCH CONCESSIONS BEYOND POINTS DISCUSSED WITH US IN WAKE OF DE GUIRINGAUD'S MOSCOW VISIT. (PARIS 17170 AND 17318). MEETINGS IT ASSERTS TOOK PLACE IN A CLIMATE OF "GREAT CORDIALITY" CORRESPONDING TO FRIENDLY RELATIONS.

4. EUROPE AND CSCE:

DECLARATION NOTES "GREAT ATTENTION" TWO LEADERS DEVOTED TO EUROPEAN SITUATION AND CSCE FOLLOW-UP. SINCE HELSINKI CERTAIN PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, CULTURAL, AND "OTHER" RELATIONS BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. THE TWO COUNTRIES ARE RESOLVED TO WORK TOWARD IMPLEMENTATION OF "ALL" PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT. THEY BELIEVE THAT CONTINUING PROGRESS IN BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES (UNDOUBTEDLY A SOVIET PHRASE) AND IN ALL AREAS TOUCHED ON IN THE FINAL ACT (UNDOUBTEDLY THE FRENCH BALANCER) CONSTITUTE ONE OF PRINCIPAL MEANS OF LONG-TERM PROGRESS. THEY ALSO EXCHANGED VIEWSON THE

BELGRADE CONFERENCE AND HOPE IT WILL TAKE PLACE IN A "CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT" AND CONTRIBUTE TO ADVANCE CONCRETE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT AND OF DETENTE. (NO MENTION OF ANY PRIOR POLITICAL CONCEPTION.)

5. THERE WAS FURTHER

--AN "EXCHANGE OF VIEW" ON THE ECE'S "EXAMINATION" OF A HIGH-LEVEL ENVIRONMENTAL CONFERENCE, AS WELL AS ON "STATE OF THE DISCUSSION" OF "PAN-EUROPEAN" CONFERENCES ON TRANSPORT AND ENERGY (OBVIOUSLY NO FRENCH COMMITMENT);

--THE OBSERVATION THAT DETENTE CANNOT ACHIEVE ITS FULL DIMENSION UNLESS "STATES ADAPT THEIR ACTIONS IN ALL REGIONS OF THE WORLD" (READ FRENCH DESIRE TO CONFIDENTIAL

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EXTEND IT TO AFRICA AND MIDDLE EAST) "TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF DETENTE."

AND EMPHASIS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF QA, WHOSE "STRICT AND FULL" APPLICATION "ARE THE GUARANTEE FOR STABILITY IN THE REGION" AND SO ONE OF BASIC ELEMENT OF DETENTE IN EUROPE.

--REGARDING CYPRUS, THE SIDES AGREED ON IMPORTANCE OF SOLVING PROBLEM ON BASIS "TOTAL RESPECT FOR INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY, AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY." SETTLEMENT SHOULD BE ACHIEVED THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS. SIDES FAVOR "RAPID EVACUATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS" (NOT FURTHER SPECIFIED) AND NOTE RESUMPTION OF INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS.

6. AFRICA:

TEXT REGURGITATES POTPOURRI OF STANDARD PHRASES--DETENTE AND PEACE IN AFRICA, INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, RIGHTS OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND NON-INTERFERENCE--WHICH EVIDENTLY MEANT TO COVER CONTINUING WIDE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FRANCE AND USSR THIS CONTINENT. ON SPECIFICS, TEXT NOTES THAT FRANCE AND USSR:

HOPE THAT ALL STATES WILL RESPECT THE SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF DJIBOUTI;

--THAT ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA WILL BE ABLE EXERCISE SELF-DETERMINATION AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE;

--AND "DEPLORE" APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA.

7. DISARMAMENT:

IN ADDITION TO STRONG STATEMENTS SUPPORTING DISARMAMENT IN PRINCIPLE, THIS PORTION OF DECLARATION

--REFERS TO THE SIDES' "DESIRE TO FAVOR ALL
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INITIATIVES WHICH COULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE REALIZATION OF GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT, INCLUDING NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, UNDER STRICT AND EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL CONTROLS" (A FORMULATION WHICH DOES NOT GIVE SOVIETS ANYTHING APPROACHING A MEANINGFUL FRENCH ENDORSEMENT;

--COMMITTS SIDES TO MAKE EFFORT TO USE SPECIAL UN SESSION ON DISARMAMENT TO "LIBERATE WORLD OF DANGERS AND OF NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL ARMS RACE." SESSION WILL HAVE AS ITS OBJECTIVE TO DEFINE GENERAL PRINCIPLES ON DISARMAMENT, TO DETERMINE AXES OF APPROACH, AND TO INCREASE EFFECTIVENESS OF ALREADY EXISTING MECHANISMS. (WE ASSUME THIS LAST REFERENCE IS "CLUE" IN TEXT, WHICH ANDREANI REFERRED TO IN CONVERSATION REPORTED IN PARIS 17318, TO EVENTUAL FRENCH WILLINGNESS UNDER STATED CONDITIONS TO RECONSIDER ITS ATTITUDE TOWARD PARTICIPATING IN THE CCD.)

--AND REFERS TO SIDES "INTEREST" IN A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE. "THEY HOPE, TEXT STATES, THAT THE CONDITIONS NECESSARY FOR SUCH A MEETING, PARTICULARLY THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL THE NUCLEAR POWERS (READ CHINA) CAN BE FULFILLED IN THE NEAR FUTURE." (FRENCH INCLUSION OF REFERENCE TO PARTICIPATION OF "ALL THE NUCLEAR POWERS" WOULD SEEM TO MAKE THIS EXPRESSION OF INTEREST VERY ACADEMIC.)

8. NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION:

DECLARATION REFERS TO SEPARATE TEXT ON NON-PROLIFERATION, UNDERSCORING ONLY COMMON DESIRE TO "BEND ALL EFFORTS TOWARD THIS END," WHILE RECOGNIZING IMPORTANCE OF PEACEFUL USE TO COUNTRIES WHO NEED IT.

9. WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION:

THE FRENCH SIDE NOTES "INTEREST" IN SOVIET PROPOSALS ON PROHIBITION OF DISSEMINATION AND PRODUCTION OF NEW TYPES OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.

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10. THE UN:

THE TWO SIDES REAFFIRM FIDELITY TO UN AND PLEDGE THEIR DESIRE TO INCREASE ITS AUTHORITY AND EFFECTIVENESS IN FURTHER WORDY PASSAGE.

11. THIRD WORLD:

THIS BRIEF TEXT NOTABLE MAINLY FOR ITS FAILURE TO REFLECT ANY SOVIET DESIRE TO PICK UP GISCARD'S SUGGESTION THAT SOVS CHIP IN ON NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE. SIDES ONLY RECOGNIZE NEED TO REORGANIZE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS. THEY DO AFFIRM WILLINGNESS TO PURSUE A CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE IN THIS REGARD.

12. OTHER TEXTS AND ANALYSIS:

WE ARE REPORTING SUMMARIES OF SEPARATE DECLARATIONS ON DETENTE AND NON-PROLIFERATION, AS WELL AS OF BILATERALS AND ECONOMIC TEXTS IN SEPTELS. WE WILL ALSO SHORTLY TRANSMIT BY SEPTEL A BRIEF PRELIMINARY APPRAISAL OF VISIT AS A WHOLE.

GAMMON

UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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